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## Funding a Roman Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland

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# *Funding a Roman Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*

by BRENDAN GRIMES

... from many a hidden spring streams of riches shall burst forth.<sup>1</sup>

In the period 1790 to 1847 more than two thousand Catholic churches were built in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> The money to build these churches (and others later in the nineteenth century) came from affluent Catholics of the merchant, professional, and tenant-farming classes, a few aristocratic Catholics, members of the Catholic gentry, the poor of the parishes, and from members of other churches. Money was given by donations (often monthly or annually) from the affluent, and from the poor by weekly collections. Other important sources included bequests, fund-raising ventures such as raffles and concerts, and charity sermons. People from all social classes sometimes gave their time, skill, and labour towards the end of raising Catholic churches, without asking for payment.

In nineteenth-century Ireland it was not uncommon to start church building without a clear idea of how long the building would take or, indeed, where the money was to come from. This was in contrast to the prudent approach taken by the Dominicans of Cork (when building St Mary's, Popes Quay: Fig. 2) who advised the public in 1836 that they had not incurred any heavy debts because they were adhering 'to the safe and honorable principle of regulating the progress of the building by the amount of actual means or available resources'.<sup>3</sup> Dr William Meagher, however, the parish priest of the Dublin suburb of Rathmines, was more daring (possibly emboldened by his conviction of God's approval of his idea to build a new church) and he was confident of God's help in ensuring that the money was forthcoming. Not all his parishioners were as confident as he was, but his will prevailed, and the parishioners supported him. The same faith and courage among the clergy had been evident a couple of decades earlier at the Metropolitan chapel, Dublin (the Pro-Cathedral)<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 1), together with the same caution among some of the laity. The many Catholic churches built in Ireland during the nineteenth century are evidence that the courage of the building priests won the day against the cautious and prudent parishioners who sat on the building committees, with their parish priests as chairmen. Perhaps the courage to build new churches came easily to ambitious priests and caution was natural for their parishioners who would eventually have to supply most of the money needed. A heavy demand was made on the Catholic laity for money to build churches, hospitals, orphanages (and schools, until the national school system was introduced in 1831).<sup>5</sup> Nothing could be done without the support of

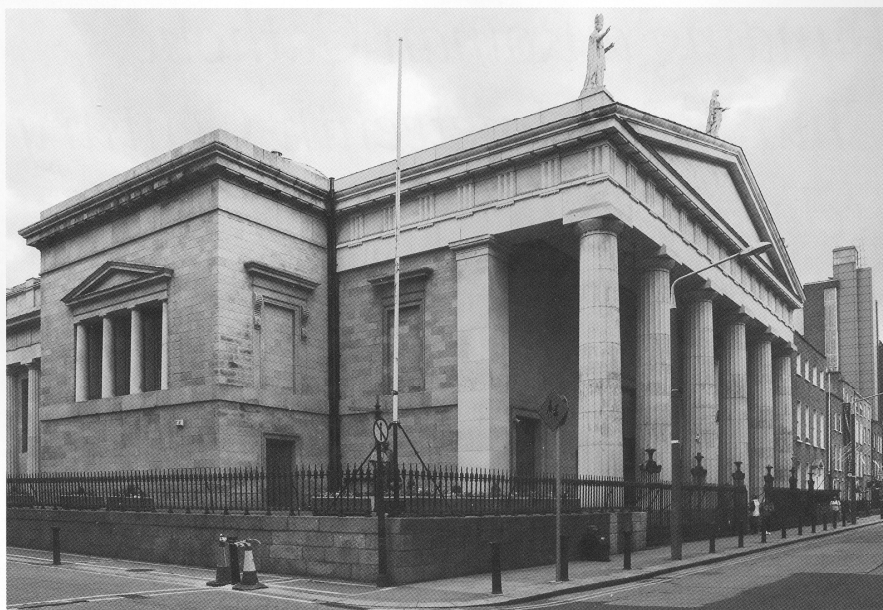


Fig. 1. *St Mary's, Pro-Cathedral, Dublin. Building work started on the Pro-Cathedral in 1815, it was opened in 1825, and the portico was finished in 1841. The design was sent from Paris in 1814; the architect is unknown (Photo: Author, 2009)*

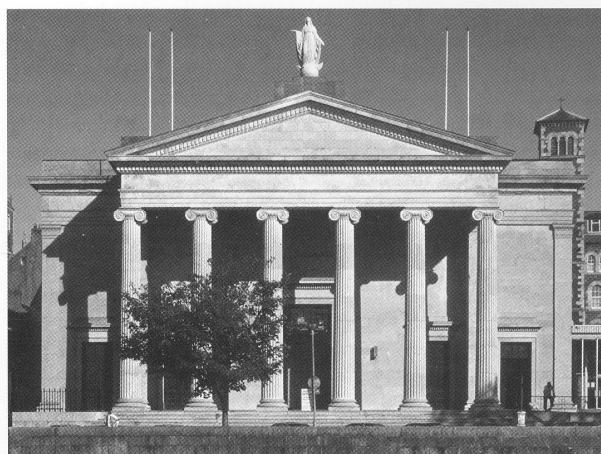


Fig. 2. *St Mary's, Pope's Quay, Cork. Designed by Kearns Deane for the Dominicans and built in 1832–39. This church with its handsome Ionic portico overlooking the river was intended to raise the esteem accorded to and felt by the Catholics of Cork (Photo: Author, 2000)*

the laity, and the clergy had to use their persuasive gifts to ensure the necessary support was forthcoming.

The emergence of a prosperous Catholic middle class made the building of decent Catholic churches possible. For a great part of the eighteenth century most of the trade in Ireland was carried out by Catholic merchants.<sup>6</sup> The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, William King, wrote in 1719: 'By the Act against Popery that hinders Papists to purchase land, they have turned themselves entirely to trade, and most of the trade of the kingdom is engrossed by them.'<sup>7</sup> Even so, it was not always easy for Catholics to prosper in trade, in the face of opposition from some of their Protestant competitors. Until the middle of the century they had difficulties, as the following two examples from Cork illustrate. On 17 January 1704 the Corporation of the City of Cork decided:

That an application be made to the Parliament next session, setting forth the grievance the English lie under by the encroachments of the Irish into their respective trades, and also setting forth the great numbers of Irish flocking into this City, to the great damage and danger of the Protestant inhabitants.<sup>8</sup>

Sixty years later Catholics were well established commercially in Youghal, Co. Cork, to the disquiet and discomfort of the Protestant inhabitants who submitted a petition to the Corporation asking that four Papists who had been admitted to freedom to trade be disenfranchised. They had, it was claimed, been admitted contrary to a bye-law passed on 27 February 1743. The petitioners were afraid of the competition and they stated that they were 'very apprehensive that the many branches of their several Trades are already engrossed by Papists, and the trade of the Town will centre with them'. The petition asked that all Papists be disfranchised but only four were, presumably the four who had been lately admitted and had been the cause of concern.<sup>9</sup> The Protestant traders were still not happy and they managed to persuade the Corporation to make an order dated 29 October 1764 declaring that, 'no Papist, or person professing the Popish Religion, shall ever hereafter be admitted free of any trade, or free of export and import, and that all Bye-laws made in their favour be repealed'.<sup>10</sup> This bye-law was confirmed by another passed as late as 11 April 1776, and it was not until 26 September 1795 that this anti-Catholic legislation was declared null and void by Youghal Corporation.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of such opposition and difficulties, by the beginning of the nineteenth century there was sufficient wealth in the hands of Catholics to allow them to make significant contributions to religious and philanthropic causes, such as temperance movements, schools, libraries and self-improvement schemes.<sup>12</sup> From January to July 1844 over £30,000 was bequeathed for charitable purposes, of which £6,253 was for Protestant use and £23,477 for Catholic use.<sup>13</sup> Catholic penetration into the professions and manufacturing was slow in the first half of the nineteenth century due to resistance by those in power, and they were particularly discriminated against in the rising world of banking.<sup>14</sup> This put Catholic businessmen at a disadvantage compared with their Protestant colleagues. Lord Grenville presented in 1808, a petition of several Catholic merchants to the House of Lords, praying:

That they may not be excluded from acting, if elected, as Governors or Directors of the Bank of Ireland ... In Ireland ... you would exclude from that situation those, who form



the larger portion of the monied interest of the country — and who possess the greater share of the commercial capital.<sup>15</sup>

The House of Lords considered the petition and decided against granting it by 101 votes to 64.<sup>16</sup>

Another class which thrived was that of the Catholic tenant-farmer who, during the period of the wars in France from 1793 to 1815, prospered from the doubling of agricultural prices. The increased wealth in the hands of this class allowed for the razing of many of the old mass houses and their replacement with barn chapels.<sup>17</sup> Even in the Protestant economic heartland of north-east Ulster a developing industrial revolution increased the general level of prosperity, including that of Catholics, especially after 1820.<sup>18</sup>

Many of the Catholic gentry and aristocracy were supporters of Catholic charities and church-building programmes. During the Marquess Wellesley's second period as Lord Lieutenant (1833–35), Lady Wellesley, a Catholic, was a frequent attender at mass in the Pro-Cathedral, Dublin, and a generous contributor to the building fund and numerous charitable causes run by the administrator (the priest in charge of the archbishop's parish) of the Pro-Cathedral, the Very Reverend Dr Hamilton.<sup>19</sup>

Much money was willed for building and charitable purposes. Such bequests were sometimes disputed and a cause for anxiety for all concerned, and in some cases attempts being made by aggrieved parties to suppress wills. Bryan Bolger, the measurer, who died in 1834, left a considerable sum to the Dublin diocese, but with legal costs and lawsuits this was reduced to about £1,000.<sup>20</sup> Bolger also left nearly £10,000 to Edmund Rice (the founder of the Christian Brothers) for the education of poor boys, but the will was contested by his nephew, James Bolger, and the charity lost the greater part of the money.<sup>21</sup> Sometimes care was needed in the interpretation of wills to avoid difficulties. For example, Richard Corballis, who died on 27 August 1847, left £100 'to each of the first Three Catholic Churches that shall be built after my Decease in the City of Dublin or within one mile of the Castle thereof'. A legal opinion held that St Laurence O'Toole's, Seville Place (Fig. 4), then being built, qualified, as it was yet to be built.<sup>22</sup> For the regular clergy money in the form of bequests posed a special risk. The relief act of 1829<sup>23</sup> provided for the suppression of regular clergy, and although this provision did not result in active harassment it was used successfully in court to deprive the Dominicans of two legacies of £500, bequeathed to them by Michael John Simms for the improvement to St Mary's, Pope's Quay, Cork (Fig. 2) and for the education of two Dominican students. The bequests were set aside on 13 January 1864 in an appeal case *Simms versus Quinlan*.<sup>24</sup> It was generally thought that the provision against regular orders in the act would be a dead letter, but the Charitable Bequests Act of 1845 also rendered it unlawful to make bequests to religious orders.<sup>25</sup> There was widespread sympathy for the Dominicans at their loss and the people of Cork organized a collection to compensate them. Fifty years later the Augustinians received a bequest for the church of St Augustine and St John, John's Lane, Dublin (Fig. 3), set aside by the court under the same law.<sup>26</sup> Bequests to the clergy (secular and regular) were commonly included in the wills of Catholics, and were frequently included after some encouragement from the legatees.<sup>27</sup> For example, the relations of a Mr Donnelly [*sic*], a grocer, who left £10,000 in his will to the Jesuits, threatened to contest the will on the basis that his confessor was a Jesuit.<sup>28</sup>

Dr Hamilton of the Pro-Cathedral had friends who could advise him on likely sources for funds. For example, his friend, J. Duigan, approached one of the directors of the Dublin and Drogheda Railway Company to obtain advice on how the directors should be best approached for a donation to the church of St Laurence O'Toole, which was being built at Seville Place, near the Dublin terminus. Duigan also advised Dr Hamilton on people who were likely to contribute, as well as informing him that Lord Cloncurry had won £10,000 in the Hamburg lottery and should make a contribution.<sup>29</sup> Dr Hamilton, ever careful, wrote to Lord Cloncurry's mother to ask advice on the best time to approach her son for a donation.<sup>30</sup> When seeking funds for Carlow Cathedral, Bishop Doyle, with a light touch, wrote to Lord Cloncurry on 14 October 1829, asking for a contribution, informing him that all the noblemen and landed proprietors he had asked had agreed to contribute, adding, 'I thought you would not be displeased with me for mentioning the matter to your Lordship, and I do no more'.<sup>31</sup> Dr Hamilton maintained contact with wealthy people and must have had an agreeable personality as far as they were concerned. On a trip to or from Paris, in the summer of 1847, he called to see Lord and Lady Trimleston in London, and induced them to give money for the church of St Laurence O'Toole (Fig. 4), then being built.<sup>32</sup>

Lord Cloncurry provided the site and a donation for the parish church of St John the Baptist at Blackrock, Co. Dublin (Fig. 5). The Rajah of Singapore, who was on a visit to Lord Cloncurry, also made a donation. The parish priest of Blackrock, Dr John Ennis, learned about fund raising when he was curate at St Andrew's, Westland Row, Dublin, and he subsequently succeeded in obtaining donations for his own church of St John from Lord Stuart de Decies, the Hon. Sidney Herbert, Mr John Byrne of Peafield, and Major O'Shee who gave £2,000. He also received a bequest from Lord Castlecoote towards the building.<sup>33</sup>

Attempts were sometimes made to collect money abroad but, it seems, with limited success. It was difficult to persuade people overseas to contribute to a building they might never see, and not much help with such persuasion could be expected from their local clergy, as Father William Foley was to learn. He was sent by his bishop to collect money in America for St Colman's Cathedral, Cove, Co. Cork, which was designed by Edward Welby Pugin and George Coppinger Ashlin, and begun in 1868. After meeting the Archbishop of San Francisco, he wrote home:

His Grace's reception of me was anything but cordial. He did not ask me to sit down, but at once launched into language most intemperate on the unreasonableness of Your Lordship's sending a priest here when the religious institutions are all in debt.<sup>34</sup>

Other priests sent elsewhere in America and in Australia to collect money for St Colman's reported similar hostility.<sup>35</sup>

In 1838 the Archbishop of Ardagh, Dr William Higgins, published a printed appeal for his projected new cathedral in Longford, and he sent a copy to the rector of the Irish College in Rome, Dr Paul Cullen, with a note saying that his cathedral

is much wanted, but the undertaking is awfully arduous in this poor Diocese. Would it be possible to collect anything among the rich Visitors to Rome & anything you could do in that way would be gratefully remembered.<sup>36</sup>



Fig. 3. *St Augustine and St John's, Thomas Street and John's Lane, Dublin. Designed by E. W. Pugin and G. C. Ashlin and begun in 1862. The apse was completed by William Hague in 1895, and the side chapels were completed by G. C. Ashlin and T. A. Coleman in 1899 (Photo: Author, 2009)*

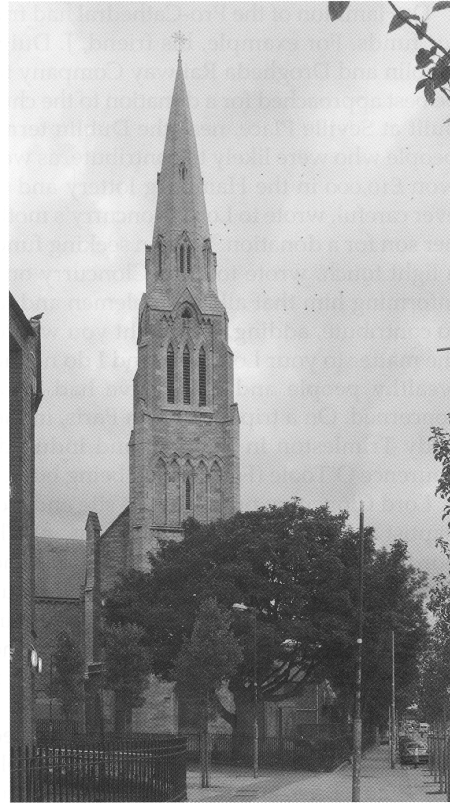


Fig. 4. *St Laurence O'Toole's, Seville Place, Dublin. Designed by John B. Keane and begun in 1844; it was completed by John Bourke in 1858 (Photo: Author, 2009)*

Dr Higgins wrote again to Dr Cullen late in 1841 asking him to explain to the Pope his intention of building a cathedral and to ask him permission for leave of absence from his diocese to travel abroad to solicit funds (he had America particularly in mind) in the following spring.

I need not say that it would have double weight in coming directly from the Pope instead of the Propaganda, and it should be not confined to any particular country. If I obtain it in this way, I engage to complete before the end of three years, the finest church in every respect *that ever existed* in Ireland. [emphasis in original]

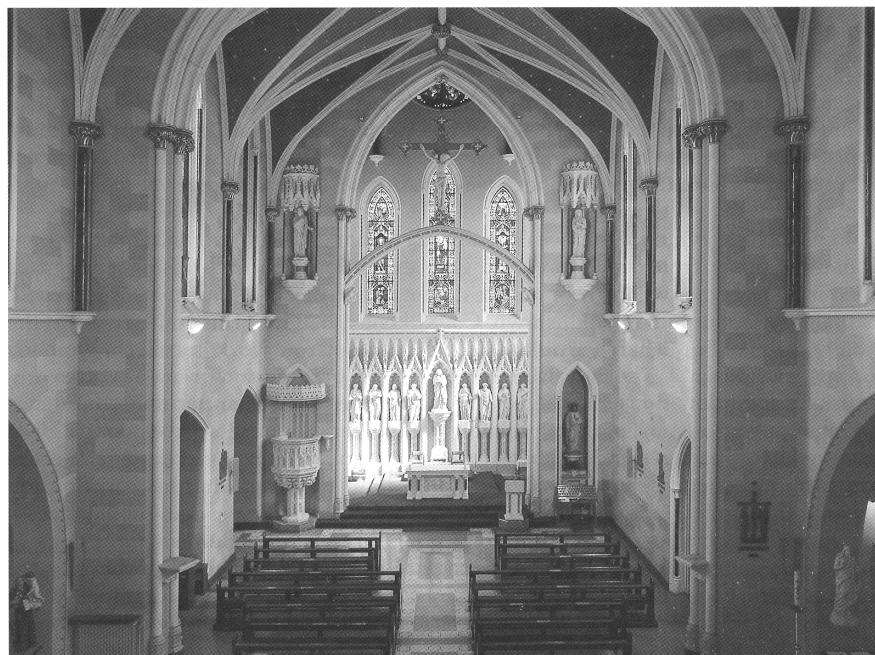


Fig. 5. *St John the Baptist's, Blackrock, Co. Dublin. Designed by Patrick Byrne and begun in 1842, it was one of the first Catholic Gothic revival churches to be built in Ireland after the publication of Pugin's Contrasts (1836) and his True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841)* (Photo: Author, 2004)

He continued: 'If, in addition to the above, you could procure some indulgences in favor of contributors, at least in Ardagh, I would consider myself beyond all difficulties.'<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately no documentary evidence has been found so far to indicate how successful Dr Higgins was in his efforts to collect money from abroad. The prior of the Dominicans, Bartholomew Thomas Russell (1799–1890), visited Manchester and Liverpool in May 1835, and had two thousand circulars printed appealing for money for the new Dominican church of St Mary, Pope's Quay, Cork (Fig. 2). The circular states that the clergymen 'earnestly solicit the benevolent aid of the inhabitants of Manchester, towards completing the erection of this sacred edifice, which is one of the most spacious and beautiful churches in Ireland'. The circular was intended particularly for the attention of tradesmen.<sup>38</sup> In June 1835 Father Russell had another circular printed addressed to the people of Britain but, in spite of his cheerfulness and optimism, by August 1836 less than 10% of the money received came from Britain.<sup>39</sup> When Dr Hamilton was building St Laurence O'Toole's he received, from a contact, the names of some Irish people living in Paris who might be willing to make donations.<sup>40</sup> At the same time he had a description

of St Laurence O'Toole's, with an appeal for funds, translated into French,<sup>41</sup> presumably intending to print and distribute it to potential subscribers. In 1850 Dr Hamilton was looking to London for further funds for St Laurence O'Toole's and he used his contact Richard Farrell for advice. Farrell advised him that he might succeed if he could 'obtain an introduction to Raphael who I believe was a Jew but now is a zealous Church building Papist of great Wealth & very parsimonious habits'. He advised him with an assessment of his character as far as giving money was concerned. 'He is a miser & yet can be lavish in his gifts.'<sup>42</sup>

There is little evidence that wealthy donors demanded anything in return for their donations apart from small favours. One example of a fund-raising committee honouring (whether willingly or not we do not know) one of its members is recorded. Captain George Bryan of Jenkinstown, Co. Kilkenny, had his arms emblazoned at the gallery stairs of St Michan's, Dublin (Fig. 6), 'for his heroic work in collecting money for the new church'.<sup>43</sup> The poor were happy to have prayers said or masses offered in return for their donations, but the wealthy sometimes used their pecuniary influence for other purposes, most of them probably benign, for example, to have poor children admitted to orphanages under clerical control. We do not know what Lord Trimleston had in mind when he wrote to Reverend Dr John Hamilton that his contribution towards the south window of St Laurence O'Toole's chapel depended 'on the success of your efforts in the matter you had so kindly consented to undertake'.<sup>44</sup>

Another source of money was the selling of vaults for interment. The vaults in the Pro-Cathedral began to be used for interments from 1827 and receipts for burials in the ten years (1827–37) amounted to £3,744 10s for the building fund.<sup>45</sup> Before the vaults were ready for interments they were leased to the Revenue Commissioners for the storage of spirits, and the rent applied to the building fund.<sup>46</sup> The vaults in St Andrew's, Westland Row, Dublin (Fig. 8) were used for the same purpose. In St Andrew's the passages which lead to the north and south transepts were intended to be used to display the monuments commemorating the persons whose remains were deposited in the vaults.<sup>47</sup> It was intended to build vaults under the chapels in Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines (Fig. 7), but these were never built.<sup>48</sup>

Several priests were trained in the art of fund raising at the Pro-Cathedral and then took their skills to other parishes. Father Walter Meyler learned how fundraising was done for the Pro-Cathedral during his twenty-six years as curate there. When he took over the parish of St Andrew's Westland Row from Reverend Dr Michael Blake in March 1833, the new church had been built up to roof level at a cost of over £6,000, which Dr Blake had collected. Father Meyler continued the building work and collected the rest of the money needed to finish the church, presbyteries and schools. He went from house to house to collect money from wealthy parishioners, and all the donations and subscriptions were recorded in the parochial books, and the amounts and names posted in the church for anyone to see.<sup>49</sup> The publication of names whether by posting in the church or reading from the altar was calculated to encourage contributions.<sup>50</sup> On 27 October 1841 Archbishop William Higgins assembled his clergy in the old chapel in Longford and persuaded them to pledge their support to the erection of his new cathedral. They made five resolutions, the second being:

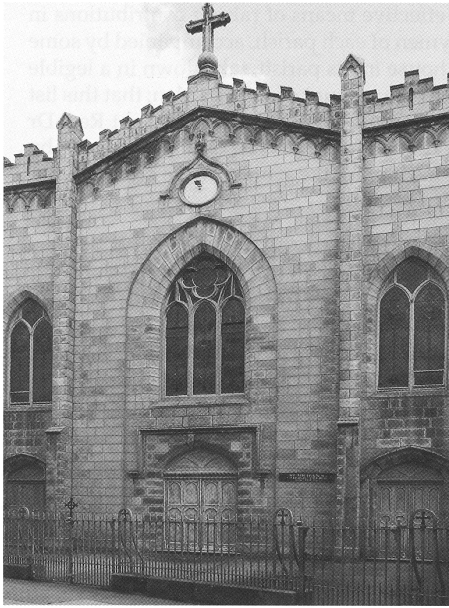


Fig. 6. St Michan's, North Anne Street, Dublin. Built in the 1811–14 to the design of O'Brien and Gorman; it is the oldest Catholic church in Dublin still in use for religious purposes (Photo: Author, 2004)



Fig. 7. Our Lady of Refuge, Rathmines Road, Dublin. Designed by Patrick Byrne and started in 1850, it is a centrally planned church, as required by the parish priest, Dr William Meagher. The detailing of the portico is similar to that of St Audoen's (1841), also designed by Byrne (Photo: Author, 2009)

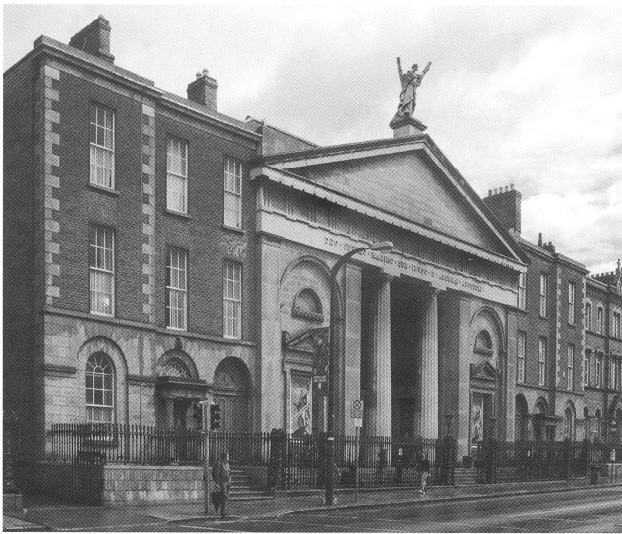


Fig. 8. St Andrew's, Westland Row, Dublin. Designed by James Bolger, this was the only Dublin church to follow the lead set by the Pro-Cathedral in using baseless Doric columns. The foundation stone was laid by Dr Michael Blake on 30 April 1832 (Photo: Author, 2008)

that we consider the following to be the most effective means of raising contributions in our respective parishes - namely, that the clergymen of each parish, accompanied by some neighboring clergymen, shall on visiting each house in his parish, take down in a legible hand the names of the contributors, together with the amount of contribution; that this list of names with the sums contributed, shall be presented on the altar to the right Rev. Dr Higgins, who will read it aloud to the congregation, in the presence of the clergymen by whom he will be accompanied, previously to his having the names of the contributors, &c., inserted in the diocesan registry.<sup>51</sup>

Although the wealthy were always expected to contribute generously, the contributions from the poor were significant, both in rich and poor parishes. For example, in the parish of St Andrew's, whose inhabitants included many wealthy people, more than a third of the cost of over £20,000 for the parochial houses and church came from the weekly contributions of the working classes.<sup>52</sup> The poor and labouring classes of the parish of St Nicholas contributed at least 35% of the cost of their new church of St Nicholas of Myra, Dublin (Fig. 9).<sup>53</sup> In the parish of St Audoen's the poor contributed more than £7,000 towards the cost of their new church, while the rich scarcely gave £2,000.<sup>54</sup> It was an unfair burden on poor people that they were expected to contribute so much of their meagre income to church building, and many Catholic priests considered it a humiliation to depend on their contributions.<sup>55</sup> One contemporary, in 1823, reported that the exactions to collect money from the people were sometimes, and in some places, matters for serious complaint.<sup>56</sup> However, it was expected that everyone should contribute according to his means. A printed report of a meeting of parishioners



Fig. 9. *St Nicholas of Myra, Francis Street, Dublin. Designed by John Leeson and started in 1829. A similar engraving showing the church and part of the presbyteries is reproduced in the Catholic Penny Magazine, I:11, 26 April 1834. The design was not fully realized; the spire being omitted and only one of the presbyteries being built (Source: Dublin Penny Journal, 29 December 1832)*



in the Pro-Cathedral on 9 July 1843 to review the state of the building fund stated that £450 was required to pay off recent debts. The report asked that:

persons of the wealthier classes would contribute each, from one pound to five pounds, according to their ability, and those of the less wealthy class of householders each, from one shilling to one pound ... encroaching thus no further than each could contribute — and yet, receiving from all.<sup>57</sup>

Some Protestants contributed to the building funds of Catholic churches with money, building sites, or professional services. In a report dated 23 November 1804 to the Propaganda Fide, Rome, the Bishop of Cork, James Murphy, reported that good progress was being made in his diocese with the replacement of the old cabins with good slated chapels.

We have at present six more nearly finished, and if God in his mercy is pleased to grant this Empire an honorable Peace shortly, I hope with his assistance and that of our Protestant Neighbors; for indeed they have been very kind to us on these occasions, we shall get Chapels around the whole Diocese in a few years.<sup>58</sup>

When work on the Pro-Cathedral, Dublin, came to a halt in 1821, due to the waning of financial support from the public, the building committee in a resolution appealed to the generosity and sense of justice of their Protestant brethren, reminding them, in a reference to the tithes collected for the maintenance of the Established Church, that 'large sums are annually supplied by the Catholic population of Ireland, for erecting and upholding of places of religious worship not of their own community'.<sup>59</sup> The obligation by all to pay tithes for the upkeep of the churches of the established religion was a source of grievance to most Catholics. The Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin expressed it thus:

They [Catholics] still are bound to rebuild and ornament their own former parish church and spire, that they may stand in the midst of them as records of the right of conquest, or the triumph of law over equity and the public good.<sup>60</sup>

John O'Driscoll put it another way, unconscious of the irony that his sentiment could equally apply to both denominations: 'It is not right that those who live upon potatoes and sour milk, should be called on to build elegant churches for those who fare sumptuously and drink wine every day.'<sup>61</sup>

The generosity of Protestants in helping to build the Pro-Cathedral was recalled by Archbishop Daniel Murray at the dinner, held in the evening after the dedication ceremonies, on 14 November 1825. He said he would

never forget the liberality and zeal of our Protestant fellow citizens, of which this day furnishes us with many examples. But, Gentlemen, acts of kindness are never thrown away upon an Irish heart. (cheers) The magnificent structure in which we assembled this morning will, I trust be a temple of concord, giving glory to God, and remaining a sign of place [*sic*] among men.<sup>62</sup>

Yet the portico of the Pro-Cathedral was too imposing for the taste of some Protestants if we are to believe the Hon. Gonville Ffrench, who informed Reverend Dr Hamilton that 'many well-disposed Protestants might be willing to contribute to the building of the Church who might be jealous of its external grandeur'.<sup>63</sup>



The building committee for the new church at Rathmines (Fig. 7) placed an advertisement in the *Freeman's Journal* appealing to both the Catholic public and the Protestants of Dublin to contribute to the new building.<sup>64</sup> The generosity of Protestants was also in evidence outside Dublin. The *Catholic Directory* of 1860 noted that a large number of Protestants generously subscribed to the building fund to enlarge the Catholic church in Sligo.<sup>65</sup> Possibly as much as 10% of the contributions made to St Mary's, Pope's Quay, Cork (Fig. 2), came from members of churches other than the Catholic church.<sup>66</sup> At a meeting to further the building of St Mary's, in June 1839, the Prior Dr Russell was reported as saying that they 'relied upon the collected pence of the poor man who freely gave his small earnings; they relied upon some of their liberal and enlightened Protestant fellow citizens — (Loud cheers) — men of cultivated minds and patriotic spirit'.<sup>67</sup> The parish priest of Arklow, Co. Wicklow, acknowledged the help he received from his Protestant neighbours in a circular he issued to his parishioners when appealing for funds in 1859 for his new church of Sts Mary and Peter (Fig. 10):

I have already received kind countenance and substantial assistance from my good Protestant neighbours, with whom I have the happiness to live on the best of terms, and I sincerely thank God for the happy change which has taken place in my day, when Catholics and Protestants, instead of engaging in deadly feud and battle of old, live together in mutual benevolence and peace.<sup>68</sup>

At a sermon preached by Very Reverend Theobald Mathew at the consecration of the new Catholic parish church of St Mary at Maynooth, Co. Kildare, on 14 June 1840, he acknowledged that Protestants had 'contributed largely towards the erection of this temple'.<sup>69</sup>

When Father Walter Meyler took over the parish of St Andrew's, Westland Row (Fig. 8), in March 1833 he was obliged to turn to Protestants living in his parish when he thought Catholic liberality was overstretched. His testimony indicates a generous response to his appeal and an acknowledgment of past support:

when pressed by the unexpected failure of the Hanover-Street Schools, and thus obliged to leave nothing unattempted to repair the saddening visitation — and stimulated by the long experience of twenty-six years in the parish of St. Mary, where I had undertaken an application, and most successfully, to the Protestants of a district to which I had been appointed ... I was induced to apply to the respectable Protestants of St. Andrew's, and I now feel the greatest pleasure in recording, that Protestant members of the bench and of the bar, and many others, cheerfully and generously so assisted me as to enable me soon to discontinue such extra applications.<sup>70</sup>

The site for the prominently located St Paul's on Arran Quay, Dublin (Fig. 11), was very expensive and contributions came from members of most of the Christian denominations.<sup>71</sup> From the 1690s until the Land Acts of 1877, 1887 and 1896, most of the land of Ireland was owned by Protestants; some of them donated land for Catholic churches, very often at the risk of exciting the prejudice of their co-religionists. For example, Lord Fitzwilliam (7th Viscount) paid for a new chapel at Booterstown, Co. Dublin (begun in 1812) for his tenants, but insisted that it avoid any churchlike appearance from the outside so as not to offend his Protestant tenants and friends.<sup>72</sup> Some landowners quietly provided their Catholic tenants with chapels. In Mallow, Co.

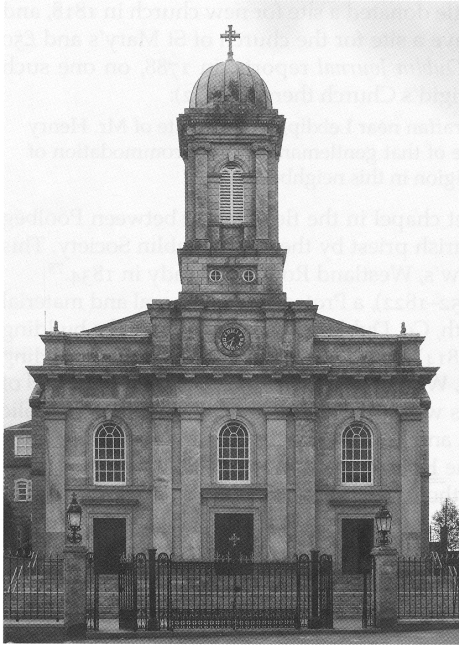


Fig. 10. St Mary and St Peter's, Arklow, Co. Wicklow. Designed by Patrick Byrne and built in 1859–61. The tower bears some similarity to that of St Nicholas of Myra (Fig. 9), but is here articulated with greater sophistication. As in St Paul's (Fig. 11), Byrne includes a clock in the tower, and on the façade he uses a combination of round-headed windows and flat-headed doors (Photo: Author, 2009)

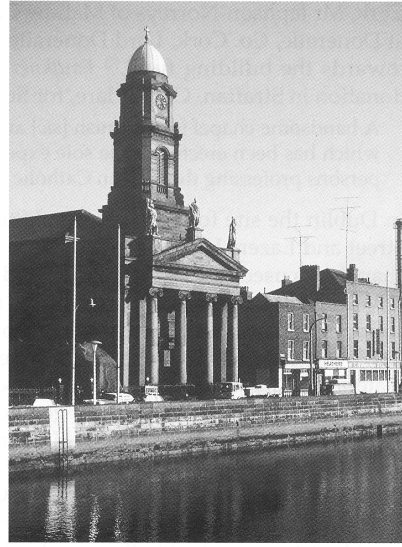


Fig. 11. St Paul's, Arran Quay, Dublin. Saint Paul's was designed by Patrick Byrne. Building work started in 1835, it was opened two years later, and finished in 1842. It was the first Catholic church built in a prominent position in Dublin in the nineteenth century (Photo: Author, 1968)



Fig. 12. St Brigid's, Straffan, Co. Kildare. This chapel was paid for by the local landlord and finished in 1788. It is in a prominent position in the town, near the Protestant church (Photo: Author, 2003)

Cork, Mr Jephson-Norreys of Mallow Castle donated a site for new church in 1818, and at Doneraile, Co. Cork, Lord Doneraile gave a site for the church of St Mary's and £50 towards the building fund.<sup>73</sup> *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* reports, in 1788, on one such donation in Straffan, Co. Kildare, for St Brigid's Church there (Fig. 12):

A handsome chapel is just finish [*sic*] at Straffan near Leixlip, on the estate of Mr. Henry which has been erected at the sole expense of that gentleman for the accommodation of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion in this neighborhood.<sup>74</sup>

In Dublin the site for the Townsend Street chapel in the flea market between Poolbeg Street and Lazars Hill was given to the parish priest by the Royal Dublin Society. This chapel was used from 1750 until St Andrew's, Westland Row, was ready in 1834.<sup>75</sup>

William St Lawrence, Earl of Howth (1752–1822), a Protestant, lent moral and material support for a new Catholic church in Howth, Co. Dublin, by his donation of the building site, by laying the first stone (on 10 June 1814), and by providing the principal building materials and a sum of £50.<sup>76</sup> His grandson, William Ulick Tristram (St Lawrence), Earl of Howth (1827–1909), was equally generous with financial support for another Catholic church in Howth, designed by W. H. Byrne, and dedicated to the Assumption of Our Lady on 15 October 1899.<sup>77</sup> Some members of the Howth family were Catholics, which partly explains why Protestant sympathies for Catholic aspirations were supported by money.<sup>78</sup>

The sympathy and support of many Protestants and others towards their Catholic neighbours was undoubtedly a great help to the builders of Catholic chapels. In February 1844 Bishop C. Denver, Belfast, wrote to Dr Paul Cullen, Rome, asking him to help George Whitta find his way around Rome. He informed Cullen that Whitta was not a Catholic but that about

eight years ago a Catholic Pastor of this Diocese and his very numerous flock were wantonly & uncharitably ejected from their House of Worship, and for a time could procure no Site on which to erect a new church, either this gentleman or his very near relation, generously gave in perpetuity ample ground for a church, graveyard, and School house, together with a handsome subscription for the erection of the Church.<sup>79</sup>

Whereas Lord Fitzwilliam was glad to help his Catholic tenants to build a modest chapel at Booterstown, Lord Fingall (Catholic) was glad to see his co-religionists erecting more architecturally assertive structures. In 1791 he contributed 60 guineas towards a Catholic church in Drogheda, Co. Louth, which he described as 'a most noble Structure and cannot but be a very essential advantage to the prosperity of Religion, as well as an ornament to the Town, being a most magnificent Model of refined Taste to the whole Kingdom'.<sup>80</sup> Around the same time a tourist in Ireland noticed that a Catholic church in Kilkenny was being paid for principally from the contributions of 'its mayor, recorder, aldermen, sheriff, and other protestant gentlemen'.<sup>81</sup>

The Duke of Devonshire contributed, in January 1838, £1,000 towards a new Catholic church in Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, together with a gift of a hundred guineas for an altarpiece. The *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* reported on this instance of Protestant liberality along with twelve others, in an article which imputed motives not entirely disinterested for the donors:

To be sure, considering that some of these liberal Protestants are (to say the least) under considerable obligations to the Roman Catholic priests, in the management of elections,

and matters of that sort, these instances of liberality do so seem quite so free from suspicion as one might at first suppose.<sup>82</sup>

The same article maintained that it was not only wealthy Protestants who contributed to Catholic church building, but also those who were less well-off, for reasons not at all magnanimous:

the vast sums extorted (in six-pences, shillings, and half-crowns a week) from poor Protestant tradesmen, by threats of exclusive dealings, and threats of all sorts, — of which the less it says the better. If all that Protestants give, from hope or fear, to the support of Popery in Ireland, were withdrawn ... Popery would present a much less flourishing appearance than it does at present.<sup>83</sup>

Even after the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1871 there is evidence that Protestants helped their Catholic neighbours with contributions towards church building.<sup>84</sup> For example, in the 1890s £7,000 was spent on the parish church of Sts Peter and Paul in Balbriggan, Co. Dublin, and Protestants contributed generously.<sup>85</sup>

An important method of fund raising until about 1875 was the charity sermon. One of the best preachers in nineteenth-century Ireland was Father Theobald Mathew,<sup>86</sup> who could always be guaranteed to attract a large crowd; for example, in 1841 he accepted an invitation to preach in the new Catholic church in Kilkee, Co. Clare and raised over £300 from entry fees.<sup>87</sup> In Dublin the charity sermon was used more often to raise money for schools and orphanages rather than for church building. The charity sermon had a long tradition in Dublin and was used by preachers of all denominations. When Joseph de Bougrenet de Latocnaye was in Dublin in the late eighteenth century he noticed that a Mr Kirwan was a very fashionable preacher who could collect over a thousand pounds at one of his charity sermons.<sup>88</sup> These charity sermons continued to be important social occasions well into the nineteenth century. For example, the *Catholic Directory* noted that several lords attended a sermon preached by Father Mathew in the Pro-Cathedral in aid of the Widows' Asylum on 27 September 1840 at which more than £200 was collected.<sup>89</sup> Congregations were willing to give generously in return for a powerful sermon. Good sermons were also necessary for the day-to-day running of a church. In 1837 attendances were down at St Francis Xavier, Gardiner Street, Dublin (Fig. 13) because of a shortage of eloquent preachers, and consequently the church collections amounted to a little more than a quarter what they had been in 1832, although this decline in income was also due in part to bad weather, fever and financial failures in the city.<sup>90</sup> The sermon preached by Very Reverend John Miley in St Audoen's, Dublin, on 24 August 1841 was published in pamphlet form in the hope that those who read it might be persuaded to assist in contributing towards its new building (Fig. 14).<sup>91</sup> Before the Great Famine (1845–50) it was common for candidates at election time to make contributions. The Hon. Mr Dawson gave a hundred pounds towards the new cathedral church in Dundalk on 16 July 1841, the day after he was elected member of parliament for Louth.<sup>92</sup> After 1850 the more usual methods, especially in large towns, were raffles and bazaars.<sup>93</sup>

The holding of public dinners was another means of raising money. For example, one such dinner at Jude's Hotel, Grafton Street, was held on 23 January 1845 in aid of funds for the new Catholic church at Chapelizod; it was presided over by Daniel O'Connell and tickets were ten shillings each.<sup>94</sup> A lavish dinner was held in the parish chapel in



Fig. 13. *St Francis Xavier's, Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin. Designed by John B. Keane. The church was opened in 1832 and was completed, including portico, in 1835. The Ionic portico is built entirely of granite, a break from the Dublin tradition of using Portland stone (Photo: Author, 2008)*

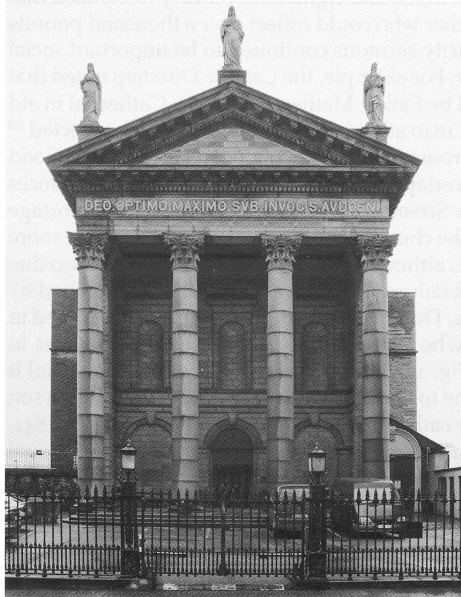


Fig. 14. *St Audoen's, High Street, Dublin. Designed by Patrick Byrne. The foundation stone was laid on 2 July 1841 and the church was consecrated on 13 September 1846. The portico was finished in 1894 under the supervision of Stephen Ashlin and W. H. Byrne. The Corinthian order used on the portico is continued inside with pilasters to articulate the walls (Photo: Author, 2008)*

Longford after the laying of the foundation stone of the cathedral on 19 May 1840. The *Freeman's Journal* carried an extensive report of the proceedings and mentioned that three hundred clergymen and gentlemen sat down to dinner and more tickets could have been sold if space had been available. Many ladies came along to watch the men eat their dinners, and presumably they paid for the privilege:

Two of the galleries were fitted up for the accommodation of the ladies, and were filled with all the beauty and fashion of the town and neighbourhood. The remaining gallery contained a harper, and an excellent military band, the exertions of which added materially to the hilarity of the evening. There were professional singers from Dublin and festooning, laurel branches & lots of wax tapers, portraits of the Queen & Prince Albert & O'Connell. The dinner was sumptuous ... while the wines ... were of the greatest abundance, and the most costly and superior of vintages.<sup>95</sup>

Workmen sometimes donated some or all of their labour or skill, and professional men sometimes gave their services *gratis* or donated part of their fees.<sup>96</sup> Some of the craftsmen involved in the building of the model of the Pro-Cathedral donated to the building fund some or all of the money due to them, and even in the late nineteenth century, when the Catholic Church in Ireland was in the ascendancy, we find Walter Doolin donating some of his professional fee to the restoration fund for the Franciscans church of Adam and Eve, Dublin.<sup>97</sup> Most of the construction work for Sts Michael and John, Blind Quay (1815) was provided voluntarily by Dublin tradesmen.<sup>98</sup> Kearns Deane (a Protestant) donated his professional services *gratis* in designing and directing work on St Mary's, Pope's Quay, Cork (Fig. 2), for the Dominicans.<sup>99</sup> Patrick Byrne supervised, without pay, the construction work for the parish church at Blackrock, Co. Dublin (built to his design and opened in 1845);<sup>100</sup> the work was carried out without a main contractor, which made the task of supervision more onerous for the architect than it would have been normally. During the building of Sts Mary and Peter, Arklow, Co. Wicklow (Fig. 10), designed by Patrick Byrne and begun in 1859, many of the local farmers undertook the work of transporting building materials, and the fishermen brought stone from Howth.<sup>101</sup> Such acts of cooperation help to explain how the Catholic churches of the period came to be built.

Builders were sometimes forced to agree to contracts which were not favourable to them and indeed frequently caused them and their families hardship. In the building of the Pro-Cathedral the contractors were required to be satisfied to receive their payments in instalments for three years after the work was finished, and the principal contractors for the building work on the Pro-Cathedral agreed to such terms, in May 1818.<sup>102</sup> In spite of these liberal terms the contractors sometimes had difficulty getting paid for their work. William Hughes of Talbot Street, a builder, worked on the Pro-Cathedral but had such difficulty getting paid that he wrote to Dr Hamilton in 1844:

I have been so much distressed by want to cash for some time that I find it would be impracticable for on my part continuing the jobbing work on the Church of the Conception in a satisfactory manner under the present terms. ... it is far from my intention that you should inconvenience the funds of the Church in endeavouring to obtain a settlement for me as I would prefer suffering pecuniary inconvenience myself than such should be done.<sup>103</sup>

He continued hoping to be paid, and a few months later he wrote to Dr Hamilton to say that he would not be able to continue in his business unless he was paid.<sup>104</sup> Another

contractor, who was owed money for painting work at the Pro-Cathedral, saw little prospect of getting paid by Dr Hamilton, and therefore wrote to the Archbishop:

Dr. Hamilton on one occasion [*sic*] when applied to expressed himself as expecting that the entire balance [£25] would be marked off as a contribution. I really think with great respect that after contributing so much from time to time it is too large an amount to expect.<sup>105</sup>

The parish priest of Rathmines Dr William Meagher found himself in trouble over the debts he incurred in the building of Our Lady of Refuge. He sent out a circular to the Dublin parishes with a proposal for collecting money: 'if I could but induce every Popish man woman and child in our city to contribute *just one penny each* [emphasis in original] to keep a poor P.P. [parish priest] out of trouble it would go far to save him from ruin.'<sup>106</sup>

The continual search for money to build churches ruined the health of some of the people involved. Father Monk, the parish priest of St Audoen's, was reported as being only a shadow of his former self and rarely seen in public after the many years he laboured to raise money. The Jesuit Peter Kenney attributed his illness to the eleven days he spent in Paris in the winter of 1829, on his way back from Rome to Dublin, to the labour of seeking alms from the Catholics in Paris for the fabric of St Francis Xavier.<sup>107</sup>

Building work was in progress on St Francis Xavier in the early 1830s. The accounts of receipts and expenditure from March 1829 to September 1835 for the church and residence survive. These accounts are not necessarily typical of all the churches, but they serve to give an idea of some of the various sources of money and their relative importance.<sup>108</sup> Almost £18,500 was spent on the church. The money came from legacies and donations (19%); church collections (15%); raffles (30%), two oratorios (3%); sale of debentures (7%); and loans (26%).<sup>109</sup> A comparison with sources for another church shows that only broad generalizations are possible. In August 1836 the Dominicans in Cork published an account of income and expenditure after their church, St Mary's, had been roofed, and before the interior had been fitted out. The money received up to that date was £6,029 5s 6d consisting of donations in the city of Cork of £1 and upwards (27%); donations in the city of Cork of less than £1 (7%); weekly collections from September 1832 to September 1835 (17%); collections in England, Limerick, and in various country chapels, through donations from strangers (10%); donations from Dominicans in Cork and elsewhere (30%); sale of old materials (2%); collections at the friary chapel on the feast of St Dominic in 1833 and 1834 (1%); and loan from a friend (5%).<sup>110</sup>

All dioceses in Ireland participated in the church building boom in the first half of the nineteenth century, the boom peaking at different periods according to place: for example, Ossory in 1800–10; Waterford and Lismore in the 1820s; Kildare and Leighlin in the 1820s; Cashel in the 1830s and Meath also in the 1830s.<sup>111</sup> Further study might reveal regional variations on how the money was raised to pay for the church buildings, but more than likely it would be found that methods varied from parish to parish depending upon how active the parish priest and his fund-raising committee were. One thing that is certain is that all classes of people contributed to the building of Roman Catholic churches in Ireland in the nineteenth century. This is aptly summed up by the prior of St Mary's, Pope's Quay, Bartholemew Russell, writing about his own church: 'Rich and Poor, Protestant and Catholic, Citizen and Stranger, have with generous emulation contributed towards the erection of this sacred edifice.'<sup>112</sup>

## ABBREVIATIONS

AL	Allen Library, Christian Brothers House, North Richmond Street, Dublin
CDA	Cloyne Diocesan Archive
DAT	Dominican Archive Tallaght, Co. Dublin
DDA	Dublin Diocesan Archive
FL	Franciscan Library Killiney, Co. Dublin
ICR	Irish College Rome
IJA	Irish Jesuit Archive, Dublin
PF	Collegio Urbana de Propaganda Fide, Rome

## PHOTOGRAPHIC CREDITS

All illustrations are the author's own photographs, except fig. 9 which is taken from the *Dublin Penny Journal*.

## NOTES

- 1 William Meagher, *Address to the Parishioners of SS Mary and Peter, Rathmines* (Dublin, 1849), p. 15.
- 2 Emmet Larkin, *The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church in Pre-Famine Ireland* (Washington and Dublin, 2006), p. 151.
- 3 DAT, 'Receipts and expenditure from July 1832 to July 1836'.
- 4 The Metropolitan chapel began to be referred to as the Metropolitan church in the 1840s (when the portico was being erected). It was sometimes referred to as the Church of the Conception, and St Mary's. It began to be called the Pro-Cathedral (the name commonly used today) sometime in the 1880s. Its official name, the Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Ever Blessed Virgin, is rarely heard. In this article its common name, the Pro-Cathedral, is used. Pro-Cathedral means a temporary (i.e. *pro tempore*) cathedral, in other words, a church in use as a cathedral but without official cathedral designation.
- 5 With the establishment of the Board of National Education in Ireland in 1831 free schooling became available for children. The government provided grants which covered almost all the building costs and the salaries of teachers.
- 6 John Brady, *Catholics and Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century Press* (Maynooth, 1965), p. 157, quoting a report on a House of Commons debate reported in *Faulkner's Journal*, 15 February 1774.
- 7 Quoted in M. O'Riordan, *Catholicity and Progress in Ireland* (London, 1905), p. 183.
- 8 Richard Caulfield (ed.), *The Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork from 1609 to 1643, and from 1690 to 1800* (Guildford, 1876), p. 311.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 474.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 475.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 535.
- 12 Patrick J. Corish, *The Irish Catholic Experience* (Dublin, 1985), p. 153.
- 13 Hansard, lxxvi, 907, 16 July 1844, quoted in Donal Kerr, *Peel, Priests and Politics* (Oxford, 1982), p. 123.
- 14 Corish, *The Irish Catholic Experience*, p. 152. Daniel O'Connell founded the National Bank to give Catholics the opportunity to enter the banking world.
- 15 Anon., *A Statement of the Penal Laws which Aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland: With Commentaries*, 2nd edn (Dublin, 1812), p. 324.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 325.
- 17 Larkin, *The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church*, p. 2.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 19 DDA, Hamilton papers 37/5, undated letters from Lady Wellesley to Dr Hamilton from the period 1833–35.
- 20 *Ibid.*, Myles J. Kelly to Dr Murray, 4 August 1843.
- 21 AL, 'Annals of the Christian Brothers House', p. 17. Both Brian and James Bolger had a professional relationship with the Brothers. Shortly after the Christian Brothers Institute was founded in 1802, Edmund Rice commissioned Brian Bolger to find a suitable site for their house in Dublin. A plot of ground was acquired in North Richmond Street in 1828 and shortly afterwards the house was built under the direction of James Bolger ('Annals', 1, 2 and 5).



- 22 DDA, Hamilton papers 37/1, legal opinion.
- 23 *An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects* 1829 (10 Geo. IV. C.7) is popularly known as the Catholic Emancipation Act.
- 24 James Dwyer, *The Dominicans of Cork City and County* (Cork, 1896), p. 65.
- 25 Charitable Bequests Act (1845), 7 + 8 Vict. Cap. 97.
- 26 Thomas Butler, *John's Lane: A History of the Augustinian Friars in Dublin 1280–1980* (Dublin, 1983), p. 144.
- 27 *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, 1:8 (23 February 1841), p. 122.
- 28 ICR, Cullen papers 1845–48, Rosanne Sisington [or Lisington?], Kingstown, to Dr Cullen, Rome, 27 October 1846.
- 29 DDA, Hamilton papers 35/7, J. Duignan to Revd Dr Hamilton [1845].
- 30 Ibid., L. Moore to Revd Dr Hamilton, 30 May 1846.
- 31 Valentine, Lord Cloncurry [V. B. Lawless], *Personal Recollections of the Life and Times with Extracts from the Correspondence of Valentine Lord Cloncurry* (Dublin, 1849), p. 382.
- 32 DDA, Hamilton papers 37/1, Lord Trimleston to Revd Dr Hamilton, 20 August 1847.
- 33 N. Donnelly, *A Short History of Some Dublin Parishes*, pt III (Dublin, 1909–17), p. 114.
- 34 CDA, W. Foley to William Keane, 29 November 1870. Quoted in Ann Wilson, 'Visions Materialised: The Building of St Colman's Cathedral, Cobh (1868–1917)' (MA thesis, Department of History of Art and Design, National College of Art and Design, Dublin, 2002), p. 95.
- 35 Wilson, 'Visions Materialised', p. 96.
- 36 ICR, Cullen papers 1836–40, Archbishop Dr William Higgins to Dr Paul Cullen, 10 July 1838.
- 37 ICR, Cullen papers 1840–43, Archbishop Dr William Higgins to Dr Paul Cullen, 8 November 1841. 'Indulgence' in this sense means the remission of punishment due to sin.
- 38 DAT, Revd B. J. Russell, Liverpool, to Revd O'Loughlin, Dominican Convent, Cork, 16 May 1835.
- 39 DAT, printed circular dated 1 June 1835 addressed to the people of Britain.
- 40 DDA, Hamilton papers 37/1, Alicia Brown to Dr Hamilton, 24 August 1847.
- 41 Ibid., unsigned and undated document from the Benedictine Abbey at Journe to Revd Dr Hamilton, postmarked 24 August 1847.
- 42 DDA, Hamilton papers 37/2, Richard Farrell to Revd Dr Hamilton, 15 May 1850. We do not know who Raphael was.
- 43 DDA, parish file for Halston Street, Very Revd Myles Ronan, *The Parish of St Michan* (Dublin, n.d.), unpaginated. George Bryan had his town house at 12 Henrietta Street, Dublin.
- 44 DDA, Hamilton papers 37/2, Lord Trimleston to Revd Dr Hamilton, 29 June 1849.
- 45 N. Donnelly, *Dublin Parishes*, pt XII, p. 100.
- 46 Christine Casey, *Dublin* (Dublin, 2005), p. 56.
- 47 *Catholic Directory* 1841, p. 277. For brevity, *Catholic Directory* is used in the text to refer to the *Complete Catholic Registry ... for 1836*, which was continued as [W.J.] Battersby's *Registry for the Catholic World* (1846–57), as *Battersby's Catholic Directory* (1858–64), as *Catholic Directory of Ireland* (1865–69) and as *Irish Catholic Directory* (1870 onwards).
- 48 William Meagher, *Five Engravings Descriptive of the New Church of Our Immaculate Lady of Refuge, Rathmines, with a Brief Account of its Origin and Progress* (Dublin, 1855), p. 18.
- 49 W. Meyler PP, *Address to the Catholic Inhabitants of St Andrew's, Westland Row* (Dublin, 1859), pp. 5–6. The names of subscribers were written into the 'Green Book' which was to be available for any parishioner to inspect. The 'Green Book' lists accounts from February 1832 and is still kept in St Andrew's.
- 50 The author remembers as a child (in the early 1950s) a priest reading from the altar of a church in Co. Mayo the names of contributors and amounts given. Those he thought had not given enough were publicly chastised with caustic remarks.
- 51 *Catholic Directory* 1842, p. 276, quoted in Larkin, *The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church*, p. 173.
- 52 *Catholic Directory* 1844, p. 386. The final cost by 1859 was over £26,000.
- 53 St Nicholas of Myra, Dublin, 'St Nicholas Without Baptisms 1824–1856'.
- 54 *Catholic Directory* 1846, p. 281.
- 55 J. K. L. [Rt Revd J. W. Doyle, Bishop [RC] of Kildare and Leighlin], *A Vindication of the Religious and Civil Principles of the Irish Catholics in a Letter to his Excellency the Marquis Wellesley* (Dublin, 1823), p. 40. Bishop Doyle thought it might be a good thing for Catholic priests to be humbled by having to accept money from the poor.
- 56 John O'Driscoll, *Views of Ireland, Moral, Political, and Religious*, 1 (London, 1823), p. 136.
- 57 DDA, Hamilton papers 36/6, printed report of a meeting of the parishioners of the Union of St Mary's,

- St Thomas and St George, convened by public advertisement, and held in the Metropolitan church, Marlborough Street, on Sunday 9 July 1843.
- 58 PF, 'Scrittura riferite nei congressi — Irlanda', vol. xviii, ff. 262–63, quoted in Emmet Larkin, *Historical Dimensions of Irish Catholicism* (Washington and Dublin, 1984), p. 17.
- 59 DDA, Pro-cathedral box 38/10, Report of the committee for building the Roman Catholic Metropolitan Chapel, given at a well-attended meeting of the citizens of Dublin, held in the New Buildings on the 11 June 1821, the Most Revd Dr Troy in the chair.
- 60 James Warren Doyle, *Letters on the State of Ireland* (Dublin, 1825), p. 61.
- 61 O'Driscoll, *Views of Ireland*, 1, p. 136.
- 62 *Freeman's Journal*, 15 November 1825.
- 63 DDA, Hamilton papers, 36/3, Hon. Gonville Ffrench to Revd Dr Hamilton, 6 November 1840.
- 64 *Freeman's Journal*, 24, 25 and 26 November 1825.
- 65 *Catholic Directory* 1860, p. 209.
- 66 DAT, 'Receipts and expenditure from July 1832 to July 1836'. This is a three-page report listing donations of £1 and upwards, giving the names, in most cases the addresses, and in some cases the occupations of the donors. Based on this information an estimate was made of the proportion of money donated by non-Catholics.
- 67 *Cork Southern Reporter*, 29 June 1839.
- 68 Dolores Tyrrell, 'The Parish Church of Saints Mary and Peter, Arklow', in *Arklow Historical Society Journal* (1985), p. 53. During the rebellion of 1798 the old parish church in Arklow was burnt down and the parish priest Revd William Ryan was murdered soon afterwards in his family home in Johnstown.
- 69 *Catholic Luminary*, no. 1, 20 June 1840, p. 7.
- 70 W. Meyler PP, *Address to the Catholic Inhabitants of St Andrew's, Westland Row* (Dublin, 1859), p. 6.
- 71 *Catholic Penny Magazine*, 2:59, 28 March 1835, p. 167.
- 72 N. Donnelly, *Dublin Parishes*, pt III, p. 109. A memorial tablet in the church to Mrs Barbara Verschoyle (1753–1837) informs us: 'She [Mrs Verschoyle] was the chief means of this sacred edifice being erected by the liberality of her attached friend and patron the last Richard Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam for the accomodation [sic] of his Roman Catholic tenants of this part of his estate'.
- 73 Brian De Breffny and George Mott, *The Churches and Abbeys of Ireland* (London, 1976), p. 154.
- 74 *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 23–27 August 1788.
- 75 Myles V. Ronan, *An Apostle of Catholic Dublin: Father Henry Young* (Dublin, 1944), p. 26.
- 76 N. Donnelly, *Dublin Parishes*, pt XIV, p. 60.
- 77 *Ibid.*, p. 63.
- 78 The Howth family belonged to a group known as Old English. The Old English were the descendants of the first English settlers in Ireland. They were loyal to England but did not accept the Reformed Church, but instead continuing (for the most part) to adhere to Roman Catholicism.
- 79 ICR, Cullen papers 1845–48, Bishop C. Denvier, Belfast, to Dr Cullen, Rome, 19 February 1844.
- 80 ICR, Silke catalogue 8 Pre-Cullen, Lord Fingall, Killeen Castle, to Archbishop Rich. O'Reilly, 1 November 1791. He is probably referring to St Peter's (demolished), designed by Francis Johnston, and begun in the early 1790s.
- 81 Charles Topham Bowden, *A Tour Through Ireland* (Dublin, 1791), p. 124.
- 82 *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, I:8 (23 February 1841), p. 122.
- 83 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
- 84 The *Irish Church Act* 1869 provided for the disestablishment and partial disendowment of the Church of Ireland from 1 January 1871.
- 85 N. Donnelly, *Dublin Parishes*, pt XVI, p. 128.
- 86 Theobald Mathew (1790–1856) was a remarkably good preacher who devoted much of his energy (with considerable success) to the temperance movement from 1834 until his death.
- 87 Ignatius Murphy, 'Building a Church in 19th Century Ireland', in *The Other Clare: Journal of the Shannon Historical Archaeological Society*, II (April 1978), p. 22.
- 88 Joseph de Bougrenet de Latocnaye, *Ramble Through Ireland*, 1 (Dublin, 1798), p. 38. Mr Kirwan was a Catholic priest who converted to Anglicanism.
- 89 *Catholic Directory* 1842, p. 394.
- 90 Thomas Morrissey, *As One Sent: Peter Kenney SJ 1779–1841* (Dublin and Washington, 1996), p. 395.
- 91 John Miley, *Sermon Delivered by the Very Rev. Dr. Miley, in St. Audoen's Parochial Chapel, Bridge-street, 24th August, 1841* (Dublin, 1841).

- 92 *Catholic Directory* 1842, p. 415. The church referred to is almost certainly St Patrick's Pro-Cathedral which was begun in 1837 to the design of Thomas Duff (c. 1805–48).
- 93 Murphy, 'Building a Church in 19th Century Ireland', p. 25.
- 94 *Freeman's Journal*, 23 January 1845.
- 95 *Freeman's Journal*, 25 May 1840.
- 96 DDA, Pro-cathedral box 38/10, Account book 1803, p. 5.
- 97 FL, loose papers relating to Adam and Eve's, 1890–99, C.77, Walter Doolin to Revd Clement A. Hyland, 13 December 1889.
- 98 N. Donnelly, *Roman Catholics. State and Condition of R.C. Chapels in Dublin, Both Secular and Regular, A.D. 1769* (Dublin, 1904), p. 33.
- 99 *Cork Southern Reporter*, 20 August 1836. The Dominicans recorded their gratitude to Kearns Deane on a stone plaque which is in the porch of the church.
- 100 N. Donnelly, *Dublin Parishes*, pt III, p. 115.
- 101 Dolores Tyrrell, 'The Parish Church of Saints Mary and Peter, Arklow', in *Arklow Historical Society Journal* 1985, p. 53.
- 102 DDA, Troy 1818, Denis Linehan to the Most Revd Dr Troy, 6 May 1818; Messrs Baker and McCartney, 6 May 1818 to ditto; John Curran to ditto, 13 May 1818.
- 103 DDA, Hamilton papers 36/7, William Hughes to Dr Hamilton, 16 October 1844.
- 104 DDA, Hamilton papers 36/7, William Hughes to Dr Hamilton, 10 March 1845.
- 105 *Ibid.*, Patrick Boylan, 102 Grafton Street, to Dr Murray, 2 October 1846.
- 106 DDA, Hamilton papers 37/2, circular letter from Dr Meagher, Rathmines, 30 August 1849.
- 107 Morrissey, *As One Sent*, p. 225.
- 108 A glimpse into an unusual source comes from local tradition in Westport, Co. Mayo, and concerns Father Peter Ward from Westport who was born about 1760 into a family of prosperous Catholics. He was probably educated in France, and he served in the Peninsular War as Napoleon's chaplain. He returned from the war with enough money to fund the building of churches in Mayo at Aughagower, Cushlough, and possibly Drummin. He also brought home three portrait paintings: Napoleon, Marie-Louise (Napoleon's second wife), and Marshal Ney (John Mulloy to Brendan Grimes, 19 November 2002).
- 109 IJA, 'Account book for the building supplies and craftsmen's fees for the building of Saint Francis Xavier', cm/Gard 38.
- 110 DAT, printed paper entitled 'New Dominican church of St. Mary, Pope's Quay', outlining receipts and expenditure from July 1832 to July 1836.
- 111 Larkin, *The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church*, pp. 151–57.
- 112 DAT, Printed circular dated 1 June 1835 addressed to the people of Britain.